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The First Tomb of Henry VII of England

Barbara Hochstetler Meyer

The death of a reigning king has a two-fold consequence: it signals the end of a human life and heralds a conceptual transference of the immutable essence of kingship. That the body does decay is a fact beyond the dispute of even those who attempt—by preservation of the royal clay—a futile denial of the laws of nature. Only kingship itself survives and becomes part of whomever is next in line of succession: the king is dead; long live the king! Thus it can be said that the nature of the man-king is dual: it is finite in the physical sense and eternal in the ideal sense. This dichotomy is inherent in the “theory of the king’s two bodies,” which postulates a corresponding differentiation between the king’s body politic and his body mortal. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries this concept developed legal connotations that progressively evolved from canonical doctrine, philosophical speculation, and the historical continuum. Its simultaneous manifestation in tomb sculpture reflected the realization that artistically idealized, sacrosanct rulers were but human beings who died as all men must die.

On the twenty-first day of March, 1509, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, Henry VII of England made his last will and testament at Richmond.¹ He was fifty-two at the time and had been ill for over two years.² This document conveys the great concern Henry had for his soul, his memory, and the proper repose of his mortal remains. He requested that a joint tomb with his late wife, Elisabeth of York, be placed in the chantry chapel he himself had commissioned seven years earlier for the eastern end of Westminster Abbey.³

And we wol that our Towmbe bee in the myddes of the same Chapell, before the High Aultier. . . In which place

we wol, that for the said Sepulture of vs and our derest late wif the Quene, whose soule God p’donne, be made a Towmbe of Stone called Touche, sufficient in largieur for us booth. And upon the same, oon Ymage of our figure and an other of hers, either of them of Copure and gilte, of suche faction, and in suche maner, as shal be thought moost conuenient by the discrecion of our Executours, yf it be not before doon by our self in our daies. And in the borders of the same Towmbe, be made a convenient scripture, conteinyng the yeres of our reign, and the daie and yere of our decease. And in the sides, and booth ends of our said Towmbe, in the said Touche under the said bordure, we wol tabernacles be graven, and the same to be filled with Ymages, specially of our said avouries of Coper and gilte. . . .⁴

The will contained detailed instructions for the embellishment of the chapel’s interior and the construction of an altar that would stand next to the tomb, both within an enclosing grate.⁵ Henry asked that his funeral be performed without “dampnable pompe and oterageous superfluities” and toward the end of the will made a final request.

Also we wol, that our Executours yf it be nat doon by our selfe in our life, cause to be made an Ymage of a King, representing our owen persone, the same Ymage to be of tymber, covered and wrought accordingly with plate of fyne gold, in maner of an armed man, and upon the same armour, a Coote armour of our armes of England and France enameled, with a swerd and spures accordingly; and the same Ymage to knele upon a table of silver and gilte, and holding betwixt his hands the Crowne which it pleased God to geve us, with the victorie of our

N.B.: A bibliography of frequently cited sources follows the footnotes.

¹ Extracts from the will of Henry VII were published by J. Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, London, 1809, II, 16–20. See also F. Bond, *Westminster Abbey*, Oxford, 1909, 129.

² Francis Bacon noted that “. . . the king . . . in the two and twentieth of his reign began to be troubled with gout but the defluxion taking also his breast, wasted his lungs, so that trice in a year (in a kind of return and especially in the spring) he had great fits and labours of the tissick (consumption). Nevertheless he continued to intend business with as great diligence as before in his health; yet so, as upon this warning, he did likewise now more seriously think of the world to come, and of making himself a saint, as well as King Henry the Sixth, by treasure better employed than to be given to Pope Julius”; F. J. Levy, ed., *The History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, New York, 1972, 237.

³ Henry himself laid the cornerstone of his chapel on 24 January 1502, and work began almost immediately. The chapel, however, was still not completed at the time of his death. W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King’s Craftsmen—A Study of Medieval Buildings*, London, 1906, 222–236; Bond, 129–130; 146. Elisabeth of York, whom Henry married on 18 January 1486, had died on 11 February 1503.

⁴ Britton, 16. *Touche* is often used to denote any costly marble; properly it is a very hard black granite that obtained the name *touch* from being used as a test for gold. It was often written *tutch* or *tuch*. W. W. Skeat, *A Glossary of Stuart Words*, New York, 1968, 414.

It was not particularly unusual for a king to go into such exacting detail with regard to his tomb. In a will dated 20 June 1475, King Henry IV of England requested that “. . . oure body be buried lowe in the ground, and upon the same a stone to bee laied and wrought with the figure of Dethe with scotchyns of oure Armes and writings convenient aboute the bordures of the same remembreing the day and yere of oure decease, and that in the same place or nere to it an Autre bee made metely for the rome as hereafter we shall deivse and declare. Item we wol that overe the same Sepulture ther bee made a vawte of convenient height as the place wil suffre it, and that upon the said vawte ther bee a Chapell or a Closet with an Autre convenient and a Tumbe to be made and sett there, and upon the same Tumbe an Image for oure figure, which figure we wil bee of silver and gilte or at lest coopre and gilt, and aboute the same tumbe scripture made convenient remembreing the day and yere of oure deceasse”; W. H. St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle, An Architectural History*, London, 1913, II, 376.

⁵ Britton, 16–19.



1 Pietro Torrigiano, Tomb of Henry VII and Elisabeth of York. Westminster Abbey, Chapel of Henry VII (photo: National Monuments Record)



2 Attributed to Guido Mazzoni, Tomb of Charles VIII of France, once in St.-Denis, drawing. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gaignierès Collection, MS Gough, II, fol. 48r (photo: Bodleian Library)



3 Shrine base of St. Thomas Cantilupe, 1285. Hereford Cathedral (photo: National Monuments Record)

Ennemye at our furst felde: the which Ymage and Crowne, we geve and bequethe to Almighty God, our blessed Lady Saint Mary, and Saint Edward King and Confessour, and the same Ymage and Crowne in the fourme afore rehersed, we wol be set upon, and in the mydds of the Creste of the Shryne of Saint Edward King, in suche a place as by us in our life, or by our Executours after our deceasse, shall be thought most convenient and honorable. And we wol that our said Ymage be above the kne of the hight of thre fote, soo that the hede and half the breste of our said Ymage, may clerly appere above and over the said Crowne; and that upon booth sides of the said table, be a convenient brode border, and in the same be graven and writen with large letters blake enameled, thies words, REX HENRICUS SEPTIMUS. . . .⁶

He died one month later on 21 April 1509.⁷

The tomb of Henry VII and Elisabeth of York that is now in Westminster Abbey was commissioned by their son, Henry VIII, from Pietro Torrigiano and executed by the Florentine sculptor in accordance with the will and the desires of the young king as elucidated in a detailed contract of 26 October 1512 (Fig. 1).⁸ But it was not the tomb originally planned for Henry VII. A contemporary document indicates that prior to October of 1512, another monument had been designed, a model made, and estimates on the cost of each component part obtained.⁹ From this document, the first tomb's pro-

posed appearance can be visualized and its creator identified. "Item the kinges iii Master Masons sayen that the workmanship of the blacke towche stoon and the whyte marbill stoon for the said tombe after the maner of the Moldinge of the patrone whiche Master Pageny hathe made woll cost lxxx^{li} whiche wolbe delivered redy wrought within the space of one yere."¹⁰

Master Pageny, as he is called in English documents, messire Pagenin in the French, was Guido Mazzoni, alias Guido Paganino from Modena.¹¹ In 1495 when Charles VIII of France returned home from his victorious if somewhat vain-glorious march through Italy, he brought Mazzoni, whom he met in Naples, back with him. The artist worked for Charles at Amboise until the King's death in April of 1498 and continued as sculptor to Charles's cousin, brother-in-law, and heir, Louis XII.¹² Mazzoni apparently executed for Louis the bronze and marble tomb of Charles VIII that stood to the left of the main altar in the choir of St. Denis until it was destroyed in 1792 (Fig. 2).¹³ He is best known, however, for his life-sized, polychrome Entombments and Nativities.¹⁴ An entry of 25 April 1509 in the *Comptes de Gaillon* indicates that Mazzoni had worked at the newly-constructed château near Rouen, one of the many French and Italian sculptors, painters, and masons brought there by Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, first minister to Louis XII.¹⁵ Obviously he went to England shortly thereafter and was given the commission for the tomb of the recently deceased King.

⁶ There was a long-standing tradition for the placement of votive figures in the Shrine of St. Edward at Westminster. See Bond, 22, and particularly J. G. O'Neill and T. E. Tanner, "The Shrine of Saint Edward the Confessor," *Archaeologia*, ser. 2, L, 1966, 129-154.

⁷ A brief but interesting account of Henry VII's funeral and photographs of the head of his effigy are in W. H. St. John Hope, "On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster," *Archaeologia*, LIX, 1907, 539-540, pls. LXI and LXII. For a later examination of Henry VII's effigy and comparison with his Westminster Abbey tomb *gisant* see R. P. Howgrave, "The Earlier Royal Funeral Effigies—New Light on Portraiture in Westminster Abbey," *Archaeologia*, xcvi, 1961, 161, 167, and pl. LII.

⁸ Pietro Torrigiano was born in Florence on 24 November 1472 and died in Seville in July or August of 1528. The contract and bond related to the tomb of Henry VII are given by Britton, 23-25.

⁹ There are actually two documents that contain the estimates for the tomb. The original is in the Public Record Office, London, State Papers, Domestic, Henry VIII (SPV/1/44 and 45), endorsed in the hand of Henry VIII himself according to Lethaby, 234. A close copy is in Harley 297, fols. 28-30, British Library. My transcription of the Public Record Office document is in Appendix A.

¹⁰ The submission of drawings or a model of a proposed tomb for the approbation of a royal patron was not uncommon. It is well-documented for the tomb of Philibert le Beau, commissioned by his widow, Marguerite d'Autriche, from Jean Perréal and the atelier of Michel Colombe around 1511. See A. J. G. LeGlay, *Analectes historiques de documents inédits*, Paris, 1838, 10-19; C. Cochin and M. Bruchet, *Une lettre inédite de Michel Colombe suivie de nouveaux documents sur Jean Perréal et Jean Lemarie de Belges*, Paris, 1914, 40, 47.

¹¹ The change in the sculptor's name probably occurred after the death of his father, Antonio, around 1466. Guido, who was born about 1450, apparently took the name of his uncle, Paganino, who was a notary. A. Pettorelli, *Guido Mazzoni da Modena, plastificatore*, Turin, 1925, 7.

The only adequate discussion I have been able to find of Mazzoni's work on the tomb of Henry VII is by P. Leseur, "Sur le séjour de Guido Mazzoni en France," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1939, 188-193.

¹² Charles V of France (d. 1380) had two sons: the direct Valois line continued through the elder, Charles VI, then on to Charles VII, Louis XI, and Charles VIII, who left no heirs since the three sons given him by Anne of Brittany all died in infancy. The cadet line flowed from Louis, Duc d'Orléans, who also had two sons: Charles d'Orléans, father of Louis XII and Jean, Comte d'Angoulême, grandfather of François I. Louis XI had forced his nephew, the young Duc d'Orléans (later Louis XII), to marry his deformed daughter, Jeanne de France, a marriage Louis subsequently had annulled after the premature death of Charles VIII so that he could marry the widowed Anne of Brittany and retain her duchy for France. For a thorough history of the period see J. S. C. Bridge, *History of France from the Death of Louis XI*, 5 vols., Oxford, 1929; the details of Louis XII's ascension to the throne are in Vol. III, *Reign of Louis XII*, 1498-1507, 1-20.

¹³ S. M. Crosby, *L'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis*, Paris, 1953, 70. There is a drawing of the tomb in the Gaignières Collection, ms Gough, II, fol. 48r, Bodleian Library, Oxford. A better representation of it after the engraving of Félibien is in P. Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture française de son temps*, Paris, 1901, 169. The figures were marble, and the *prie-dieu* was gilded bronze.

¹⁴ Pettorelli lists the sculptural groups attributed and documented to Mazzoni.

¹⁵ A. Deville, *Comptes des dépenses de la construction du Château de Gaillon*, Paris, 1850, 405. "Pierre de Lorme, maçon, a fait marché à monsieur de Sauveterre de faire et tailler à l'entique et à la mode française de pierre de Vernon les entreez qu'il fault à asseoir les medailles baillées par messire Pagenin icelles asseoir soubz la tarasse basse du grant corps d'ostel. . . ." Gaillon was almost completely destroyed during the Revolution; only battered fragments remain of its glory.

The configuration of the tomb emerges from the estimates of the craftsmen who are individually named along with their proposals for the fabrication of the figures and architectural structure.¹⁶ The types and amounts of materials needed, the time necessary for completion, and the costs are clearly specified, as are the finishing touches that were to be expected—the gilding, burnishing, and painting of the figures.

The monument would have been a large, free-standing, two-shelved, arcaded, double-effigy tomb, perhaps similar in structure to English shrine bases such as St. Thomas Cantilupe's in Hereford Cathedral (Fig. 3).¹⁷ A total of nineteen figures were planned, but only the three major ones—the reclining effigies of the King and Queen and the King's kneeling figure—were to be life-sized. The clothing on all of the figures would have been painted, in vivid contrast to the extensive gilding. Requisite dates and the epitaph might have been placed around the central portion of the architectural structure. The twelve small figures—conceivably Apostles, but more likely the "avouries" mentioned in the will—could have stood in niches set into the base or into the piers of the arcade through which the reclining effigies of the royal couple would have been visible.¹⁸ A flat top would have provided a stage for the kneeling figure of the King and smaller figures of his four lords who probably held the royal escutcheons.

Upon thus envisioning Mazzoni's design, it becomes immediately apparent that the sculptor had every intention of deviating from the will of Henry VII by incorporating on a single monument two different figures of the King—one reclining at the side of his wife in accordance with traditional usage, but the other kneeling on top of the tomb in-

stead of on the shrine of St. Edward as specifically requested.¹⁹ This would have been both innovative and unique, for although double-effigy tombs were not in themselves new, the juxtaposition of a reclining and a kneeling figure of the deceased on one monument had not appeared before in any of the several combinations possible in tomb sculpture.

Up to this time, there were four basic postures assumed by the frequently life-sized figures of the deceased on their tombs. The *gisant* was a fully-robed, reclining form laid out on top of a sarcophagus or *tumba* or on a slab within an arcaded structure.²⁰ Facial features—often of portrait fidelity by the mid-fourteenth century—were tranquil and composed, for the quiescent figure was depicted either asleep or open-eyed, awaiting the Final Judgment with equanimity and bearing no visible reference to death's actuality.²¹

The *transi* was also a recumbent form, but unlike the *gisant*, it entered fully the realm of death. Although a few *transi* figures appear locked in *rigor mortis*—that transitory state between death and decomposition—usually the flesh of the partially nude, often partially enshrouded body was altered from a life-like configuration to one that foretold the decay and mortification of the grave.²² The psychological point of reference had shifted from an image of the dead body as whole and incorruptible to a *memento mori* that unsparingly reflected upon the inevitable end of all living matter.

A seated tomb figure—the *assis*—was symbolic of the station in life of the deceased, as king or pope, bishop or warrior, and appeared as a reiteration and reenactment of the earthly life and its transitory achievements. Accordingly, whereas some *assis* figures were enthroned and others were

¹⁶ The mixture of media—bronze, both gilded and painted, with black and white marble—was indicative of the taste of the period. For a discussion of materials and color decoration on English tombs see F. H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150–1550—An Introduction to the Study of Tombs & Effigies of the Mediaeval Period*, London, 1921, 25–41. The full estimates are in Appendix A.

¹⁷ I suggest this sandstone shrine base of 1285 or the purbeck marble base of St. Frideswide at Oxford, 1289 (Crossley, 43) solely as examples of a possible structural format for the tomb of Henry VII as it seems to have been planned by Mazzoni considering the number, configuration, and placement of the figures described in the estimates. Other than such large chantry shrines, monumental, free-standing tombs were not popular in England. One might recall, of course, the shrine-tomb of St. Edward at Westminster, but as originally conceived, it did not have figures directly on it but only in adjacent positions. (See Bond, 22; O'Neill and Tanner, 131.)

Lethaby (p. 235) estimates that the base would have been about six feet by ten feet considering the amount of material required.

¹⁸ Henry VII listed the "avouries" in his will: "... mine accustomed Avouries I call and cry, Saint Michel, Saint John Baptist, Saint John Evangelist, Saint George, Saint Anthony, Saint Edward, Saint Vincent, Saint Anne, Saint Mary Magdalen, and Saint Barbara" (Bond, 129).

¹⁹ When discussing the shape of the feretory of the original shrine of St. Edward, O'Neill (p. 153) mentioned the part that "could have housed Henry VII's kneeling figure." I have not found any other allusion to this figure, however, nor any indication that it was ever made. It must be remembered that not long after 16 January 1540, when the abbot and monks of Westminster surrendered the monastery by order of Henry VIII, the old shrine of St. Edward was dismantled and its component

parts dispersed (Tanner, 129). The valuable image could have disappeared at this time. Yet the estimates for Mazzoni's proposed tomb exist in two copies. The detailed contract and bond for the present Westminster tomb of Henry VII are extant. Thus if the votive figure had been commissioned, materials obtained, and the object completed, it would seem reasonable to assume that there would also be some mention of it in Henry VIII's inventories or other documentary sources of the period.

²⁰ The tomb *gisant* re-emerged with the revival of monumental sculpture in the 12th century, although one can go back to antiquity to find many variations on the theme. See E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, New York, n.d.; G. Ferrari, *La tomba nell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1916; G. S. Davies, *Resurgence Tombs of Rome*, New York, 1916; K. R. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Berkeley, 1973; Crossley, *English Church Monuments*.

²¹ In accordance with Christian doctrine and hopes, figures were portrayed in a state of physical wholeness with the anticipation that this was how the body would be resurrected. The tomb *gisant* was the shell vacated by the soul but looking as if still united with it while in the sleep of death.

²² The *transi* was at times depicted with flesh hanging off the skeleton, eyes and nose gone, lank hair, ribs exposed, worms and toads feasting on the remaining flesh and entrails. An early example, in relief, was on the tomb of Cardinal Jean de La Grange, d. 1402, fragments of which are now in the Musée Calvet, Avignon. The epitaph reveals the intention and philosophy of such a representation: "Wretch, why art thou proud? Thou art naught but ashes & soon will be like me a food for worms." Panofsky, figs. 263, 264, and 265. See also: Cohen, *passim*; E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1925, 347–354. (See p. 333 above.)

equestrian, all portrayed the individual at the height of his worldly powers, although in isolated cases the *assis* also depicted the frustration of human endeavors.²³

The *priant*—a figure kneeling in prayer—did not appear on tombs until the late thirteenth century and was not as frequently used as the other three forms. Prototypes were donor or votive figures or *priants* in funerary chapels, all in the traditional posture of supplication.²⁴ Physically the *priant* represented the deceased as he looked in life; only rarely was there a trace of the dissolution of the flesh.²⁵ Philosophically it has been assumed that the *priant* referred only to the soul of the deceased in eternal prayer. But since a specific, conscious human action is portrayed, I believe on the contrary that the tomb *priant* alludes primarily to the individual while alive. Thus two of the tomb figures—the *assis* and the *priant*—commemorate the physical state and actions of life; the other two—the *gisant* and especially the *transi*—enter another dimension and convey the totality of death.

The intrinsic symbolism of these four forms stimulated the artist or patron to emphasize the contrasts between them by using more than one image of the deceased on a single tomb. Apparently this development was encouraged by a desire to create a contrast that was political in nature, for judging from extant monuments and drawings of lost ones, double-effigy tombs first emerged in Italy toward the end of the thirteenth century, and they were primarily royal tombs.

The tomb of Philippe de Courtenay (d. 1283) in the Lower Church of S. Francesco in Assisi displays his crowned *assis* seated on the back of a lion in an upper chamber of the *enfau* monument; his *gisant* lies on a sarcophagus in

the chamber below.²⁶ Only fragments remain of the Pisa tomb of Emperor Henry VII by Tino da Camaino, ca. 1315, but they indicate that the figure of the enthroned ruler—sculpted in the round—was centrally seated, slightly above a grouping of his councilors at each side. Beneath them his *gisant* rested on top of a sarcophagus whose front face bore relief figures of the Apostles.²⁷ The same double-effigy format is present on the tomb of King Robert of Anjou in Naples, of ca. 1343 (Fig. 4). The *gisant*, with eyes closed in unending sleep, lies above the *assis* carved in relief and seated on a throne with orb and scepter in hand; both figures bear faithful portraits of Robert the Wise.²⁸

These tombs seem to be sculptural manifestations of the "theory of the king's two bodies."²⁹ The perpetuity of the king's body politic is inherently part of the very fabric of kingship, that intangible essence that is infused into a person upon assumption of a throne, and, upon abdication or death, is transferred to a successor. Kingship survives the individual and co-exists with the State as long as a monarchy is desired or maintained. On the other hand, the king's body mortal is that part of the individual that is born of flesh and finite, a unique, transitory entity that eventually will die and thus cease to be. It is conceivable then that these royal double-effigy tombs were meant to serve as permanent reminders of this duality by the contrast of the active, ruling figure of the king in life with his stilled, passive form in death artistically promulgated by the use of *assis* and *gisant* figures.

Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century when the first tomb of Henry VII was being designed, neither the *priant*—which had previously only appeared alone—nor the *gisant*—

²³ Since no specific name has been given to seated tomb figures, I call them "assis."

²⁴ *Assis* figures of kings usually appeared enthroned with orb and scepter in hand whereas bishops and popes were fully attired in pontifical robes and miter. The equestrian *assis* was invariably in armor. Although most seem to be actively and often energetically alive, Tino da Camaino's tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, completed in 1321, had an *assis* of the bishop with eyes closed, head to the side, hands crossed and limp as if the demands of life's burdens were carried over into death. J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250–1400*, Baltimore, 1966, fig. 130A.

²⁵ For a discussion, still quite valid, of the origin of the tomb *priant*, see L. Courajod, *Origines de la renaissance: Leçons professées à l'Ecole du Louvre* (1887–1896), II, Paris, 1901, 450–451. Well-known examples of donor or funerary *priants* are: Philippe le Hardi and Marguerite de Flandre on the portal of the chapel at the Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, end of the 14th century; Jean, Duc de Berry and Jeanne de Boulogne, once in the Ste.-Chapelle, Bourges, dated ca. 1416 and preserved in the drawings of Holbein in the Cabinet d'Estampes, Kunstmuseum, Basel (although the head of the Duc's *priant*, badly battered, is in the Hôtel Jacques Coeur, Bourges); Jean Juneval des Ursins, d. 1431, and his wife, Michele de Vitry, d. 1456, in Notre-Dame-de-Paris. Reference is frequently made to the kneeling figures on the tomb of Cardinal de La Grange but it should be definitively stated, once and for all, that those figures represent the Cardinal as a donor or votive image in each *mise-en-scène* of the tall, five-storied monument as it originally appeared in Avignon Cathedral. They were absolutely not tomb *priants* in the unique manner of those found on earlier and later tombs. (See above, pp. 326ff.)

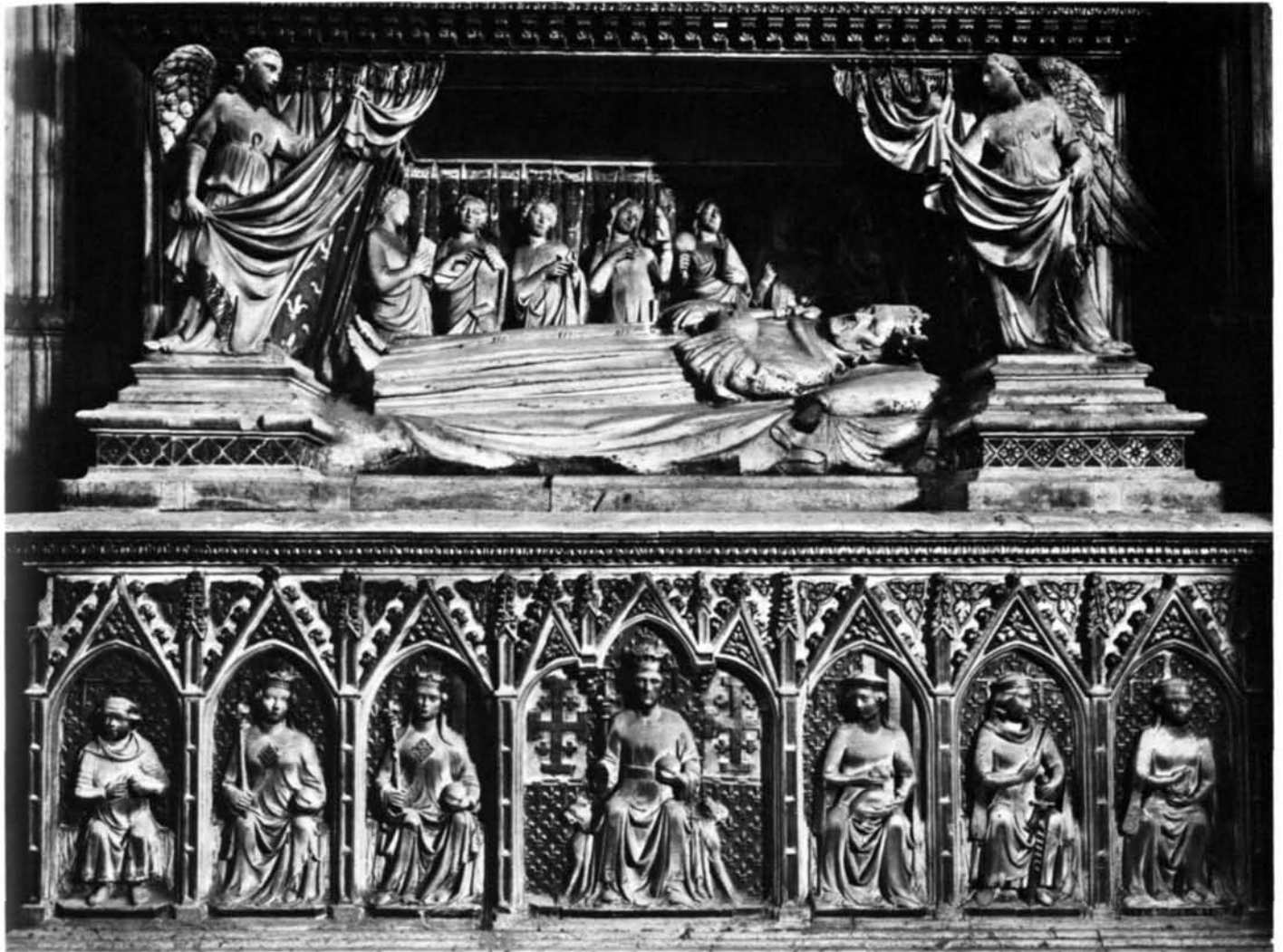
²⁶ The tomb of Isabelle of Aragon, wife of Philippe III, who died while returning to France with her husband and the bones of his father, Louis IX, on 22 January 1271, is in Cosenza. The face of the *priant*—which is executed in high relief—is distinctly swollen, reflecting injuries caused by a fatal fall from her horse, a point, however, that has been disputed. The possibility does exist that a death mask might have been used by the sculptor. Yet this *priant* is semi-votive and thus transitional; both it and a *priant* of Philippe kneel facing a figure of the Virgin. See E. Bertaux, "Le tombeau d'une reine de France," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, ser. 3, XIX, 265–276; 369–378.

²⁷ W. R. Valentiner, "The Master of the Tomb of Philippe de Courtenay in Assisi," *Art Quarterly*, XIV, 1951, 3–17. Valentiner attributes the tomb to Ramo di Paganello and assumes it was executed not long after Philippe's death.

²⁸ The remains of the tomb are in the Camposanto in Pisa. W. R. Valentiner, "Observations on Sienese and Pisan Trecento Sculpture," *Art Bulletin*, IX, 1927, 177–220, figs. 21 and 22.

²⁹ White, 289–290; Panofsky, fig. 398.

³⁰ The complex and multiple aspects of the theory of the king's two bodies provide the central thesis of Ernest H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies, A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton, 1957. Particularly pertinent to the king's body politic is the section, "Dignitas non moritur," 383–450. For a specialized study of French royal burial practices see Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, Geneva, 1960, specifically Chap. X, "The King Never Dies," 177–201.



4 Giovanni and Pacio da Firenze, Tomb of King Robert of Anjou, ca. 1343, detail of central portion. Naples, S. Chiara (photo: Alinari)



5 Tomb of Edward, Lord Despencer, 1375. Tewkesburg Abbey, Trinity Chapel (photo: National Monuments Record)



6 Tomb of Louis XI of France, once in Notre-Dame-de-Cléry, drawing. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gaignières Collection, MS Gough, II, fol. 46 (photo: Bodleian Library)



7 Antoine and Jean Juste, Tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, 1531. St.-Denis (photo: Monuments Historiques)

which was on occasion juxtaposed with a *transi*³⁰—had yet been used together on a double-effigy tomb. The question then arises whether the kneeling effigy of Henry VII mentioned in the estimates was to have been a *priant* or whether it adhered at least in part to his will and was to be depicted with a crown in hand. In either case, a contrast would still have been generated between the continuity of royal power intimated by the kneeling figure and the inevitability of royal demise avowed by the *gisant*.

Since the estimates do not specify the precise pose of the kneeling figure, one can only speculate which form was chosen by Mazzoni and why. In England, *priant* tombs were practically non-existent. A single known extant example is in Trinity Chapel, Tewkesbury Abbey—the freestone effigy of Edward, Lord Despencer, a suppliant knight in full armor kneeling in prayer atop a Gothic chantry tomb, dated the year of his death, 1375 (Fig. 5).³¹ Stone postulates a London origin for the work and assumes, therefore, that the pose could have been influenced by the frescoed *priants* on the

wall of St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster.³² (Although the original paintings were destroyed in 1278, they were reconstructed by Edward III between 1346 and 1348.)³³ Whether Mazzoni knew the Despencer tomb is questionable; he certainly must have seen the frescoes.

The motivation for his design probably came from a different source. Two royal *priant* tombs had been created in France just prior to the end of the fifteenth century. The free-standing *tumba* of Louis XI (d. 1483)—once in Notre-Dame-de-Cléry—supported the royally-robed *priant* which was accompanied at each corner of the monument by naked, kneeling *putti* displaying the King's escutcheons (Fig. 6).³⁴ As already stated, Mazzoni himself designed the tomb of Louis's son, Charles VIII (d. 1498) (Fig. 2).³⁵ He repeated the same general format with the addition of a *prie-dieu* and four larger, clothed angels holding heraldic shields. It is of major importance to note that the royal crown is present on both of these tombs—it rests in front of the kneeling Louis XI and is placed next to a prayer book on the *prie-dieu* before Charles VIII. The proximity of this symbol of the royal *Dignitas* gives substantial weight to the conclusion that the *priants* represented each king when alive and invested with his regal powers.³⁶

Thus it can be postulated that Henry VII's request for a kneeling votive figure holding a crown gave birth in the sculptor's imagination to the idea of using just such a figure, or again a *priant*, on the tomb itself, substituting four lords with escutcheons for the four angels that attended Louis XI and Charles VIII. There is no mention in the will of these four lords in relation to the tomb, its adjacent altar, or the votive statue. The presence of a kneeling figure on the tomb was assuredly an audacious refutation of the dead King's wishes, yet it is undeniable that such a figure was planned. By placing this figure on top of the tomb, Mazzoni would have negated in great part Henry's rationale for its existence. The King had a definite purpose in mind when he asked that his executors place his richly-embellished, armored figure kneeling on a silver and gilt table on the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor proffering a crown. The action and the location emphasize that Henry was aware—even after twenty-four years as king—of the tenuous nature of his claim to the throne of England. He wanted to forge for the

³⁰ This combination appeared in England at the beginning of the 15th century. Archbishop Henry Chichele began his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral in 1424, some nineteen years before his death. The pierced Gothic openwork of the *encadrement* reveals the *transi* of the bishop, a rigid, almost naked corpse lying on a shroud, hands at its sides. On top of the two-tiered structure, his *gisant* lies fully attired in pontifical robes and miter in an attitude of prayer. Kantorowicz relates the juxtaposition of the two images directly to the bishop's funeral ceremony (433–34, fig. 30). I would go beyond that obvious and limited association, however, to a more general message befitting a stone monument that one assumes was meant to last for centuries. The *transi* could symbolize the bishop's mortal remains forever entering the kingdom of death; the *gisant* would personify the bishop's soul in its state of highest attainment forever entering the kingdom of Heaven—the two analogous of the immutable duality of substance and essence that permeates all aspects of existence. Other examples of this type of tomb are: tomb of Bishop Richard Fleming, ca. 1430, Lincoln Cathedral (Panofsky,

fig. 261); tomb of John Fitzlan, d. 1435, church at Arundel, Sussex (Panofsky, fig. 262); tomb of Bishop Thomas Beckington, 1465, Wells Cathedral (Crossley, 171).

³¹ L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages*, Baltimore, 1955, 182–184; Crossley, 133.

³² Stone, 184.

³³ T. Borenius and E. W. Tristram, *La peinture médiévale anglaise*, Florence, 1930, 36 and pls. 57, 58, and 61.

³⁴ P. Pradel, Michel Colombe, *Le dernier imagier gothique*, Paris, 1964, 20. The tomb has long been destroyed, but a drawing of it is in the Gaignières Collection, ms Gough, II, fol. 46, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

³⁵ Pettorelli, 20 and note 13 above.

³⁶ This is a point on which opinions strongly differ. See footnote 42.

Tudor line, and for all time, a firm link to England's royal past and perhaps offer as well a measure of thanks for the gift he acquired more through chance and persistence than right of birth.³⁷

Actually the question of whether a *priant* or a kneeling figure with crown in hand was planned is moot since the tomb was never built. Henry VIII apparently did not like the design. As executor of his father's will, he rejected Mazzoni's plans and eventually gave the commission to Torrigiano, who had recently completed the conventional tomb of Henry VII's mother, Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby.³⁸

It is not known exactly when Guido Mazzoni returned to Paris, but he was probably there at the time of Louis XII's death on 1 January 1515. Scarcely three months earlier, the ailing, widowed Louis had married Mary Tudor, the young sister of Henry VIII.³⁹ Not long thereafter,

Mazzoni returned home to Modena where he died on 12 September 1518.⁴⁰

It is ironic that the tomb of Louis XII, begun in early 1516, reflected, for the first known time, the iconographic innovation that would have appeared on the royal English tomb as designed by Mazzoni (Fig. 7).⁴¹ Instead of four lords or angels, the four Cardinal Virtues perch on the corners of the tomb's base. Rather than name-saints, the twelve Apostles sit framed by openings in the tomb's arcade. But on top of the great, free-standing monument the life-sized, portrait figures of Louis and his wife, Anne of Brittany, kneel *en priant* in robes of state behind *prie-dieux*. Beneath them under the architectural canopy, in poignant contrast, lie not *gisants* but *transis*—the nude, eviscerated bodies of the royal couple frozen in *rigor mortis*. Flesh has become marble, and marble recreates and retains forever the immediacy of life and death. Could not the *priants* symbolically proclaim the royal status once possessed by the dead King and Queen while

³⁷ The paternal grandfather of Henry VII was Sir Owen Tudor, who was descended from Cadwallader. He married Katherine of Valois, the widow of Henry V, a daughter of Charles VI of France. The son of Owen and Katherine was Edmund Tudor who was made Earl of Richmond by Henry VI, his half brother. Edmund married Margaret Beaufort, a lineal heiress of John of Gaunt, son of Edward III. The death of Henry VI and his son, Prince Edward, in 1471 left Henry Tudor, son of Edmund and Margaret Beaufort, as the leader of the Lancastrian party in the War of the Roses. When the ascension to the throne of Richard III divided the Yorkist forces, Henry returned from exile in Brittany, and after the defeat and death of Richard at Bosworth in 1485, he became King. His marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, on 18 January 1486, effected the union of the houses of York and Lancaster. Therefore, in simple terms, Henry VII's sole claim to the throne of England was through his mother, Margaret Beaufort.

³⁸ R. S. Scott, "On the Contracts for the Tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond & Derby, mother of King Henry VII, and Foundress of the Colleges of Christ & St. John in Cambridge with some illustrated documents," *Archaeologia*, ser. 2, xvi, 1915, 365–376.

³⁹ Anne of Brittany died on 9 January 1514. A document of 7 August 1514 set forth the terms of Louis XII's marriage to Mary Tudor. He was fifty-four, she was eighteen. A proxy ceremony took place on 13 August and the actual marriage on 9 October 1514. For a full discussion of the negotiations between Henry VIII and Louis XII, and their political significance, see Bridge, iv, 238–266, specifically 250f.

⁴⁰ Pettorelli, 22. Mazzoni returned to Modena on 19 June 1516.

⁴¹ This complex monument was the subject of my unpublished doctoral dissertation for The Johns Hopkins University, May, 1973.

Reference should be made here to two early 16th-century monuments both of which have *priants* and *gisants*. The remains of the tomb of Philippe de Commynes and his wife, Hélène de Chambes, are in the Louvre. Vitry, 174–178, believes that the polychromed stone tomb was executed between 1500 and 1510 in the Italian atelier of the Hôtel Nesle in Paris. He attributes it to Guido Mazzoni. The upper portion of the *enseu* monument still has the partial *priants* of the couple (from the waist up) achieved in high relief with remarkable fidelity to the individual physiognomies. The single *gisant* beneath them is that of their daughter, so this was not truly a double-effigy tomb. Yet the combination is innovative, and the attribution to Mazzoni seems plausible.

A slightly later monument is more complex. Given by virtue of an inscription to the sculptor, Antonio della Porta, the tomb of Raoul de Lannoy and his wife in the church at Folleville (Somme) is believed by Vitry, 158–161, to have been begun around 1507 but not completed until some years later, perhaps not even before the death of Lannoy in 1524. The tomb, if it can be called such, consists of two separate parts. On one wall of a small chapel is a niche containing the fully-sculpted *priants* of the couple kneeling in front of *prie-dieux*. Beneath them on the dado are relief figures of the four Cardinal Virtues. The *priants* look toward an adjacent wall on which there is an *enseu* tomb containing their *gisants*. The tomb is framed with very elaborate open stonework relief replete with quattrocentesque foliate and other antique motifs (Panofsky, fig. 272). Thus although *priants* and *gisants* of the couple are present, there is no single tomb structure. I think study would reveal that the *gisant* tomb is of later manufacture than the *priants*, which relate to votive figures in a funerary chapel.

the *transis* perpetuate with unequivocal clarity their inevitable mortality.⁴² There are additional persuasive formal, political, and dynastic reasons for the juxtaposition of *priants* and *transis* on this particular royal tomb, yet one can also wonder if there was a debt as well to Guido Mazzoni and his unrealized plan for the tomb of Henry VII of England.⁴³

Mary Washington College

⁴² In discussing the double-effigy tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany in St.-Denis, erected in 1531, Cohen, 164, states, "As in the funeral, two separate representations of the king were used on the tomb, but contrary to Kantorowicz's opinion, the kneeling figure of the monarch on the tomb did not represent the royal *Dignitas* and its triumphal, never-dying aspects." The use of the word "representation" is unfortunate here, for the author is referring to the king's dead body and the funeral effigy. The body assuredly cannot be considered a "representation." What Kantorowicz actually said was, "From the time of Louis XII onward (d. 1515), the tomb monuments of the French kings at St. Denis began to display the king or royal couple as they were in life, kneeling in their royal attire before a prie-dieu on top of the temple-like portico of the monument; within the portico, however, lay the dead king in his human misery, naked (except for a drapery) and his eyes closed" (Kantorowicz, 431, my italics). Cohen supports her belief thus, "Evidence for this interpretation lies in the fact that when the effigy symbolized the *Dignitas*, as during the triumphal entry [of the funeral ceremony], it was invariably accompanied by the royal regalia; the crown, scepter, and hand of justice. The kneeling figures on the tops of the tombs of Louis XII, Francis I, and Henry II were not accompanied by such royal insignia." She goes on to relate the tomb *priants* to the funeral effigy in other stages of the funeral ceremony (Cohen, 165–166). And herein lies the fallacy of her argument. One cannot always directly relate an individual's funeral monument to his funeral ceremony. Certainly, in earlier monuments, for example, the 13th-century Plantagenet tombs at Fontevrault, it seems evident that the *gisants* represent the royal figures during that brief moment of lying-in-state prior to burial (Panofsky, 57). Later tombs at times did commemorate aspects of the funeral ceremony, particularly those that had mourners and participants in the funeral procession standing with eternal vigilance in niches around the monument's base. By the early 15th century, however, because of the primitive state of the science of embalment and the often lengthy time between death and burial, the royal dead were rapidly encased in a coffin, and the effigy acquired paramount importance in the increasingly longer and elaborate funeral ceremony. But the funeral effigy was not used *en priant*; movable arms and hands were positioned in an attitude of prayer only when the effigy was reclining. The tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, with its *priants* and *transis*, had no direct relation to or influence from the royal funeral ceremony. The crown, scepter, and hand of justice are not physically present, but the royally-robed *priants* affirm the possession of the royal *Dignitas* in spirit without the need of tangible objects. In like fashion, the earlier tombs of Louis XI and Charles VIII in no way relate to their funerals. Yet the presence on them of crowns and robes of state incrustated with the fleur-de-lys can be construed as an evocation of the *Dignitas* of each monarch.

Finally, the inference that either the tomb of Louis and Anne or the first tomb of Henry VII had a philosophic kinship with the "theory of the king's two bodies" is tenable only as a very tempting hypothesis based on the works themselves, as yet unsupported by corroborating documentary evidence.

⁴³ Leseur, 192–94, believes that Mazzoni could have been the initial designer of the tomb of Louis XII, turning his plans over to the atelier of Antoine and Jean Juste, the documented sculptors, when he returned to Italy in June of 1516. This is intriguing, for the earliest extant document that relates the Juste to the tomb dates from August of 1516. See B. Hochstetler, "New Documents Relative to the Date of Death of Antoine Juste and the Tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, Ser. 6, LXXXIX, 1972, 251–252. No document of commission from François I has yet been found. Although it is unfair to exclude the Juste entirely from a part in the formal design, I believe that the overall conception of the monument was the work of Jean Perréal, as Leseur also acknowledges is possible. Yet Mazzoni could certainly have suggested structural or iconographic details that related to his tomb for Henry VII.

Appendix A

Estimates for the First Tomb of Henry VII

A remembrance of certain names and prices for making of a tomb

Lawrence Ymbar Karver for making the patrones of Timber Firste the Imager saith that the two Images whiche be lyang in the tombe And the kinges Image the whiche is kneling upon the tombe the workemanshippe of every eiche of them and it be perfectly don is worthe xii^{li} som is xxiii^{li} Item the iiii Lordis ymagis whiche ben kneling upon the tombe every eich of them is worth in workemanshippe iiii^{li} som is xvi^{li} Item the xii small ymagis on every side aboute the tombe the workemanshippe of everie eiche of them is worthe xl som is xxiii^{li} And these Imagis to be fully fynyshe in the space of oon yere and an half Memorandum that drawsword Sherif of Yorke saith that the two Images which ben lyeng in the tombe And the kinges Image whiche is kneling upon the tombe if he should make them as well as he can he would deliver them one of them redy wrought within xii wekes therefor he jugeth every pece of those three Images redy wrought at lxxvi^{li}viii^{li} som is x^{li} Item he saith that every eiche of the iiii lordis kneling upon the tombe is worth in workemanshippe lx^{li} som is xii^{li} Item every pece of the xii small Imagis which ben aboute the tombe at xxiii^{li}iiii^{li} som is xiii^{li} Humfray Walker founder Item the founder saithe that vi w^{li} and iiii pound weight of fyne yelow metall woll perfourme the making of the Imagery for the hole tombe which ben in nombre great and small xix price of every hundred of the said metall xx^{li} som is lxiii^{li} Item the casting and repairing redie to the gilding of the two Lynge Images in the tombe And the kinges Image kneling upon the tombe woll cost every eich by estimaton lxxx^{li} Item the casting and repairing redy to the gilding of the iiii lordis kneling upon the tombe woll cost every pece by estymaton lx^{li} Item the xii small Images that standith aboute the tombe woll cost every eiche by estymaton when they ben wrought redy to the gilding som is lx^{li} and his worke to be delivered in one yere and an half Nicholas Ewen Copper smyth and Gylder Item the Gylder saith that the two lyeng Images and the Kinges Image kneling upon the tombe woll cost to be well gilt and surely don when they ben in proportion of mannys stature in greatness xl^{li} every pece in golde gilding and bourneshing som is xx^{li} Item the golde and gilding of everie eich of the iiii Lordes kneling upon the tombe woll cost xl^{li} Item the gold and gilding of every pece of the xii little Images aboute the tombe woll cost x^{li} som is xx^{li} Item the gold and gilding of the kneling forme and the quishen upon the tombe and gylding the Epithaphie rounde aboute the tombe and the garnysing of the Bace rounde aboute the tombe bouethe woll cost x^{li} And this to be delivered redy in half a yere Item for one smythe and two men with hym to forge and make fylis and tolis for the repaying of all the Coper work that shalbe longyng to the tombe whilis the workes ben a doing is esteemed at xl^{li} which is comprised in the founderes Articlis and prise above writyn John Bell John Maynard peyntores Item the peyntores saith that the hole peynting worke in Colours and workemanshippe that shalbe don upon the clothing of the Imagery of the said tombe when it is proporconed as it shalbe woll cost xl^{li} which wolbe don and wrought with iiii mennys handes with in three quarters of a yere Robert Vertue Robert Jeyns John Lobons Item the kinges iii Master Masons sayen that the workemanshippe of the blacke towche stoon and the whyte marbill stoon for the said tome after the maner of the Moldinge of the patrone whiche Master Pageny hathe made woll cost lxxx^{li} whiche wolbe delyvered redy wrought within the space of one yere M(aster) Fynche Roger Thorney Marchauntes Item one hundred fote of blacke towche stone is sufficient for the legges and the bace of the said tombe wherof the price of every fote in london is ii^{li} som x^{li} Item lxxx fote of white marbill wolbe sufficient for the side and the ende of the said tombe which woll cost to be delyverede in london as maister Fynche saith xiii^{li} vi^{li} viii^{li}

Public Record Office, London, State Papers, Domestic, Henry VIII (SP144 and 45)

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